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THE
CHARACTERS
OF
Robert Earl of Essex,
FAVOURITE
To Queen Elizabeth,
AND
George D. of Buckingham,
FAVOURITE
To K. James I. and K. Ch. I.
With a Comparison.

By the Right Honourable EDWARD
Late Earl of CLARENDON.

L O N D O N,
Printed for *A. Baldwin,* in *Warwick-*
Lane, 1706.

THE
CHARACTERS

OF

Robert Earl of Essex

FAVOURITE

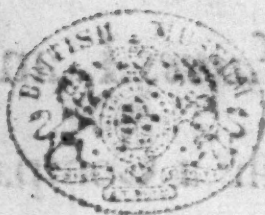
To Queen Elizabeth,

AND

George D. of Buckingham,

FAVOURITE

To K. James K. Ch. 1



William

By the Right Honourable EDWARD
J. B. of C. A. K. D. W.

LONDON

Printed for J. B. in W. M. K.

1700.

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READER.

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The Reader will be here entertain'd with the Pictures of Two of the Greatest Subjects in Europe, in their Time; And although One of them is inimitably drawn by the Noble Author in his History, yet this Mignature will still be acceptable since 'tis all thrown into another View.

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THE

The Characters of Robert Earl of Essex, Favourite to Q. Elizabeth; and George D. of Buckingham, Favourite to K. James I. and K. Charles I. &c.

THOUGH it shall appear an Unseasonable Itch of Wit to say ought on this Subject, and an unskilful one, if Invention reach not what is already said; yet I shall presume (disavowing only the Vanities) to think, that in the severest considerations of Their Persons, in Their Educations, in Their Influuations into Favour, in managing that Favour, in their whole Education (but that they were both glorious in the Eyes of their Princes) they were as distant, as unfit, as impossible for Parallels, as any two Vertuous and great Persons (for so they were both) we can direct our discourse

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course to. Their ingagements, incumberances, and disadvantages, being so different, that it was the just wonder (and yet continues) of the World, that the *Earl* could ever fall, (his whole Fate being in the discretion of his own Soul;) and the *Duke* (who all his Life of favour, stood the mark shot at by the most petulant and malicious Spirits this Climate ever nourished) could stand so long.

He that shall walk in a short survey of both Their Times, Actions, and Dependencies, shall find them These.

Though the first approach of the *Earl* to Court was under the shadow of the Great Earl of *Leicester*, yet he owned him rather for his invitation Thither, than his preferment There.

For no question he found advantage from the stock of his Fathers Reputation; the People looking on his quality with reverence (for I do not find that any young Nobleman had yet surprized their Hopes, or drawn their Eyes) and on his youth with pity;
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for they were nothing satisfied concerning his Fathers Death, who had been advanced to honourable dangers by the mediation of such as delighted not in his Company; as it was the mysterious Wisdom of those times to Poyson with Oyl, & *homines per honores ferire*. And if there were not any such compassion in the Queen, yet surely she beheld him as the Son of an excellent Man, that died in her service, and had left a precious Fame surviving.

In the Court he staid not above a Year, but undertook that Journey into the *Low Country's* with his Father-in-Law, and went General of the Horse in a great Army, though he was not full nineteen Years of Age; there being then no such Criticisms, as interpreted the acceptance or pursuit even of the greatest Dignity and Command, a Conspiracy against the State; but all Men were glad to see him set himself so brave a task, by undertaking such an Employment.

From this first Action he took a Charter of the Peoples Hearts, which

was never Cancel'd; but as if they had looked only on the boldness, not the success of the Enterprises, he was sure to return with Triumph, though the Voyage miscarried: For amongst all his Foreign undertakings, if they be weighed in the Peoples usual Scale, the Cost, though there was not above one or two prosperous returns, and as many that had sad and Calamitous Issues; yet he never suffered the least publick Imputation or Murmur; but was received with that Joy, as if the Fleet or Army were sent out to bring him home, not any Spoil or Conquest, (to which he had wholly dedicated his Faculties.)

He moved only in his proper Orb; out of it he was *extra sphaeram activitatis*, and rather of much business, (as a Man towards whom the Queen had directed some Rays of Affection) than of much Dexterity above other Men.

Surely, I by no means imagine him built or furnished for a Courtier.

For however the Arts and Mysteries of a Court are undefinable, yet, as in
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the Reformation and Improvement of all Sciences, there are certain Principles and Maxims unalterable and unquestionable, so there is a certain Comparity, Conformity, and Complacency in the Manners, and a discreet Subtlety in the Composition, without which (as with those Principles) no Man in any Age or Court shall be Eminent in the *Aulical* Function.

Now how ill the Earl was read in this Philosophy, his Servant Cusse (whose observations were sharp enough, whatever Stoicisms raved in his Nature) well discerned, when he said, *Amorem & odium semper in fronte gessit, nec celare novit.*

And I shall not impute it to his want of *will* (though that would be but an ill Argument, for his Courtship) nor of *Power*, for he did many greater things; but only of *skill* to contrive conveniences of Honours and Perferments at Court, for such Friends as might have been good out-works to have fortifi'd and secur'd his own Condition, except all his dependants

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were of another Complexion than could have Lived in that Air.

And indeed, I do not find that the Earl much inclined to, or desired the Reputation of a Courtier, besides the preservation of himself, and the Queens Affection (which yet he endeavoured rather to master, than to win;) but he seemed, though he had such Places of Honour and Attendance as be the most significant Badges of a Courtier, but *in pace belli gerere negotium*, and retired only from the War to prevent Peace.

Then if we visit his Correspondencies abroad (which he rather maintained out of State, than contrived out of skill) we shall see they were always with an Eye upon Actions, and his Intelligences had ever some hint of Tumult and Commotion; as if the King of *Spain* was loud or frantick at his Devotions; as when he Vow'd at Mass, that he would be Reveng'd of *England*, though he Sold all those Candlesticks upon the Altar: This information was given by the Earl. But it was observed then, that

that if there were ought intended against the Life or Person of the Queen, though it were in the Court of *Spain*, where the Earl had especially his Leigers, the first notice came over by my Lord *Cecil*, for whom (indeed) it seemed as necessary there should be Treasons, as for the State that they should be prevented. Insomuch as it was then (how unjustly soever) conceived, that though he Created none, yet he fomented some Conspiracies, that he might give frequent Evidences of his Loyalty, having no other advantage (as the Earl and others had in Person) to justify him in an ordinary Estimation, but by eminent Services.

And those he knew must be best relished, that concerned her own preservation; and therefore in the least Vacations from Treasons, he was ever busie to set on Foot some vigilant and tender Law (as there was scarce any Parliament, without some such) that had a peculiar Eye to the Queens safety. Which (however they are by such as cannot apprehend the danger

ger of those times, looked upon without much Reverence) could not but make singular impression in the Queens Heart of his Fidelity.

The Incumbrances that the Earl had to Wrestle withal (for I shall only look over his Life, without particular enquiry into his Actions, which had all Glorious Ends, or Glorious Intentions) were fewer than ever any great Man ever met withal, and his Advantages more in number, and in weight.

'Tis true, he was Rival'd by a strong and subtile Faction, which cared and consulted for his Ruin, as a Foundation they must build upon; and were intent to betray him abroad, and mis-interpret him at home: yet the danger was thus allay'd, that they were all his publick and professed Enemies, and so known unto the Queen, that they durst never imperinently urge out against him, since they were sure their Malice was concluded, when the reason of their Objection happily might not be considered.

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And indeed, that trick of countenancing and protecting Factions (as that Queen almost her whole Reign did with singular and equal Demonstration of Grace, look upon several Persons of most distinct wishes one towards another) was not the least Ground of much of Her quiet and success. And she never doubted but that Men that were never so opposite in their good Will each to others, nor never so dishonest in their Projectments for each others Confusion, might yet be reconciled into their Allegiance towards her. Infomuch, that during Her whole Reign, she never endeavoured to reconcile any personal differences in the Court, though the unlawful Emulations of Persons of nearest trust about Her, were even like to overthrow some of Her chiefest Designs. A Policy seldom entertained by Princes, especially if they have Issues to survive them.

Among the Advantages the Earl had (and he had many that will distinguish him from any Man that hath, or is likely to succeed him) I shall

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Rank the Nature and the Spirit of that time in the first place. For I shall not mention his Interest in the Queens Favour, till the last, which shall appear greatest by the Circumstances that lost it.

'Twas an ingenious un-inquisitive time, when all the Passions and Affections of the People were lapped up in such an Innocent and Humble Obedience, that there was never the least Contestations, nor Capitulations with the Queen, nor (though She very frequently consulted with Her Subjects) any further Reasons urged of Her Actions, than Her own Will.

When there were any Grievances, they but Reverently conveyed them to Her notice, and left the time and order of the rest to Her Princely Discretion. Once they were more unportunate and formal in pursuing the complaints of the Purveyors for Provision, which without question was a crying and an heavy Oppression: The Queen sent them word, they all thought themselves wise enough to reform

reform the misdemeanours of their own Families, and wish't that they had so good opinion of Her, as to trust Her with Her Servants too. I do not find that the *Secretary* who delivered this Message, received any Reproach or Check, or that they proceeded any further in their Inquisition. In this excellent time the Queens remarkable Grace endeared the Earl to the regard of the People, which he quickly improved to a more tender Estimation, neither was this Affection of theirs ever an objection against him, till himself took too much notice of it; for the Queen had ever loved her People without the least scruple of Jealousie, nor was ever offended if He was the darling of their Eyes, till She suspected he inclined to be the darling of their Hearts.

In his Friendships he was so Fortunate, that though he contracted with Antient Enemies, and such as he had undeserved from, by some unkindness, as Grievous as Injurious, it is not known that ever he was betrayed in his trust, or had ever his secrets derived unhand-

folly to any Ears that they were not intended to: And this, if he had not planted himself upon such, whose Zeal to his Service was more Remarkable than their other Abilities, would have preserved him from so prodigious a Fate.

Lastly, he had so strong an Harbour in the Queens Breast, that notwithstanding those dangerous indiscretions of committing himself in his Recreations and Shooting-Matches to the publick view of so many thousand Citizens, which usually Flocked to see him, and made within the reach of his own Ears large Acclamations in his Praise; notwithstanding his receiving into his Troop of Attendance, and under that Shadow bringing into the Court, divers Persons not liked by the Queen, and some that had been in Prison for suspicion of Treason, as Captain *Wainman*; and then his glorious Feather-Triumph, when he caused two thousand Orangetawny Feathers, in despite of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, to be worn in the Tilt-Yard, even before Her Majesties
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own Face (all which would have found regret in the Stomachs of most Princes:) yet neither these, nor any whispers that were destill'd into the Queens Ears (for ought appears) ever lessened him in her Highnesses regard, till he committed such strange mistakes, as ever have been Prosecuted with most Exemplary Punishments, by the Laws themselves: Which (though in Jealousie of Princes, they oft compound Treasons out of Circumstances and Possibilities) yet are as tender of the Reputation of great Men as in any Common-wealth whatsoever.

If towards his Period the Queen grew a less Merciful Interpreter of his Failings and Successes; 'twas when she believed he grew too Familiar, and in Love with his Passions, and had a mind not to be satisfied but upon his Conditions, and too insensible of his own Errors. And (truly) that would not be unfitly applyed to him, that was once said of the terrible Mountford Earl of Leicester, in the Reign of Henry the Third; (though nothing be
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more horrible to me than the Peculan-
cy of that Wit, which for an unhand-
som Jest, would accuse him of a pur-
pose to be King (for doubtless in his
solemn purposes he was of a firm and
unshaken Allegiance) that he had a
Spirit too great for a Subject. For
besides that he look'd from above, and
with a displeasure that had a mixture
of Scorn more than Anger upon such
as Courted not his Protection, his
Talk was in an high and unusual Dia-
lect; he took much delight to discover
an Hatred (like a Contempt) of the
King of Spain, and would often men-
tion his Person as Familiarly as Lu-
ther did our Henry the Eighth; and as
Fox begins his Book against the Pope
with the first Lines of Tullies Oration
against Cataline, *Quousque tandem,*
&c. And so he would Write in his
ordinary Letters, and Publish in his
Apology, *I will teach that proud King
to know,* &c. Which sounded possibly
not so acceptable to the Queen Her-
self, who though She were perfect e-
nough in her dislike to that King,
thought that the greatest Subject ought
not

not to approach the Infirmities, or the mention of any King without some Reverence. And the Earl in his Zeal to the *Hollanders* (when the great design was to mediate a Truce between *Spain* and them, and almost the whole Councel Board inclin'd that way) would not only in the Violence of his opposition shew a dislike to the Insolency and Tyranny of the *Spaniards*, but of the very Government of a Monarchy.

Then his carriage towards the Queen Her self was very strange, and his usual converse, upon too bold Terms which proceeded not from any Distemper but his Passions, (though Natural Cholar be but an unruly excuse for roughness with Princes:) but 'twas a way of Traffick (I know not upon what unlucky success) he had from the beginning fancied, and lasted even to his End. Inasmuch, as upon his first Restraint, (which was not many Months before his conclusion) he did somewhat neglect the Queens Pardon, because it came not accompanied with a new grant

grant of his Lease of the Farm of sweet Wines, which was then near expired; though She intimated to him, that She only deferred that Grace upon the Physicians Maxims: *Corpora impura, quo magis pascas, laeseris.*

Lastly, If ever that uncouth Speech fell from him to the Queen, which is delivered to us by one that was much Conversant then, in the secrets of the Court, That She was as crooked in Her Disposition, as in Her Carcass (when haply there was a little unevenness in Her Shoulders) all my wonder at this Destruction is taken from me: And I must needs confess, I am nothing satisfied with that loose Report which hath crept into our Discourse, that shortly after his miserable End, (which indeed deserved Compassion from all Hearts) I know not upon what unseasonable delivery of a Ring or Jewel by some Lady of the Court, the Queen expressed much Reluctancy for his Death. I am sure no Discovery, no Expression, either to his Memory, Friends, or Dependants, can weigh down the Indignity of

of the Sermon at *Paul's Cross*, and set out by Command, or that Discourse that was so carefully commended abroad of his Treasons; which were two of the most Pestilent Libels against his Fame, that any Age hath seen Published against any Malefactor, and could not with that deliberation have been contrived, and justified by Authority, had not there been some Sparks of Indignation in the Queen, that were unquenched, even with his Blood.

'Tis time to call my self homewards to the view of those considerations, in which will clearly appear the Inequality of the Duke's Condition, to what hath been said of the Earl: And it may be, I have been at my distance too bold an Undertaker of these Actions, which were performed so many Years before my Cradle.

I shall not much insist on the Duke's Morning, being so different from that of the Earl's, as would discountenance all purposes of bringing them

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into one Circle; he had no satisfaction in his Friendships, or pretence in his Quality, but was his own Harbinger at Court. For though the Herald may Walk in as large a Field of his Pedigree, as shall concern any Subject, yet that being no inlet to his Advancements, or occasion of his Favour, I shall leave to such as shall have the preferment to write his Life. 'Tis true, that soon after his approach was found to be acceptable, and that he was like enough to be entertained by him that had most Power to bid him welcome; he received pretty conveniences from the respects of some great Men, which at most (being as much out of disaffection to others as tenderneſs to him) yielded him rather aſſiſtance, than ſupport; ſo that indeed he was (if ever any) *Faber fortuna ſua*: And all ſuch as will not be impudent Strangers to the diſcerning Spirit of that King who firſt Cherished him, cannot but impute it to a certain innate Wiſdom and Virtue that was in him, with which he ſurprized, and even

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Fascinated all the Faculties of his incomparable Master. He was not sooner admitted to stand there in his own Right, but the Eyes of all such, as either look'd out of Judgment, or gazed out of Curiosity, were quickly directed towards him, as a Man in the Delicacy and Beauty of his Colour, Decency and Grace of his Motion, the most rarely accomplished they had ever beheld; whilst some that found Inconveniences in his nearness, intended by some affront to discountenance his Effeminacy, till they perceived he had masked under it so terrible a Courage as would safely protect all his Sweetnesses.

And now he quickly shewed the most Glorious Star that ever shined in any Court; insomuch that all Nations Prosecuted him with Love and Wonder, as fast as the King with Grace; and to his last he never lost any of his Lustre.

His swiftness and nimbleness in Rising, may be with less injury ascribed to a Vivacity, than any Ambition in his Nature; since it is certain the

Kings eagerness to advance him, so surprized his Youth, that he seemed only to submit his Shoulders, without resistance to such burdens as his Highness would be pleased to lay on him ; and rather to be held up by the Violent Inclination of the King, then to climb up by any Art or Industry of his own : Yet once seated, he would not affront that Judgment that raised him , by an unseasonable diffidence of himself, but endeavoured with an understanding boldness to manage those employments which his modesty would never suffer him to Court.

During the Reign of his first Master, I cannot but say, he enjoyed an indifferent Calm in his Fortune and Favour ; for though there were some Boisterous Interruptions by the Clamour of the People, yet shortly again their Affections were as Violent (and almost as Senseless) toward him, as ever their Accusations were before or after ; insomuch as the Chief Rulers among them performed frequent visits to him, when he was somewhat diseased in his Health, and out of a Zealous

lous care of him, would have begot in him some Jealousie, that his Physicians and nearest Attendants about him, being (perhaps) of the same Religion with the King of *Spain*, had a purpose by Poison to Revenge some injuries (these People had conceived) in the right of that Nation. And here the Fortunes of our great Personages met, when they were both the Favourites of the Princes, and Darlings of the People. But their Affections to the Duke, were but very short Lived.

And now 'tis seasonable to say somewhat of the Disposition and Spirit of this Time, since the disparity of of those we treat of, will be in that discerned, and the Earl be found by so much to have the Advantage, that there will be little need of conferring the particulars of their Lives. 'Twas a busie querulous froward time, so much degenerated from the purity of the former, that the People under pretences of Reformation, with some petulant discourses of Liberty (which their great Impostors scattered among them,

them, like false Glasses to Multiply their Fears) began *Abditos Principis census, & quid occultius parat exquirere*: Extended their enquiries even to the Chamber and private Actions of the King himself, forgetting that truth of the Poet, — *Nusquam Libertas gratior extat, — quam sub Rege pio*: 'Twas strange to see how Men afflicted themselves to find out Calamities and Mischiefs, whilst they borrowed the name of some great Persons to scandalize the State they Lived in: A general disorder throughout the whole Body of the Common-wealth; nay the Vital part perishing, the Laws Violated by the Judges, Religion Prophaned by the Prelates, Heresies crept into the Church and Countenanced: And yet all this shall be quickly rectified, without so much as being beholding to the King, or consulting with the Clergy.

Surely had *Patronius* now Lived, he would have found good cause to say, *Nostra regio tam presentibus plena est numinibus, ut facilius possis deum quam hominem invenire*. For my part, whether

whether the Frenzy was nourish'd in the warm Breast of Young Men, (who are commonly too much in love with their own time, to think it capable of Reformation;) or whether it was fomented by riper Heads, that had miscarried in their propositions of Advancement, and are violent in the Successes of Queen Elizabeth; or whether it was only the Revolution of Time that had made them unconcern'd in the Loyal Fears that governed sixty Years since, I shall not presume to guess; but shall rather wish for the Spirit and Condition of that time, as he did for Wars and Commotions, *Quoniam acerbissima Dei flagella sunt, quibus hominum pertinaciam punit, ea perpetua oblivione sepelienda, potius quam memoria mandanda esse.*

King James being no sooner Dead, but such as had, from his beginning, impertinently endeavoured to supplant him, and found that he was so deeply rooted in his Sovereign's Acceptance, that there should be no shaking him with clamorous Objections,
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found some means to commend over his Condition, and transcendent Power, as they term'd it, as a matter of publick Consequence to the People: And from this Instant to his fatal End, he stood, as it were, opposed, notwithstanding all the Shelter of the Sovereign's Regard, to all the Calumnies and Obloquies, the impudent Malice of the Rabble could fling on him; and in all their pretences of Reformation, as if their End were only his Shame, not amendment, they rather cudgel than reprehend him. Of this wild Rage (not within the main Purpose of an Apology) I shall give one or two Instances, insisting on them only as they were mentioned in the indigested Noise of the People, not as they were marshalled with other Employments, in any publick Declaration or Remonstrance.

There were two Errors chiefly laid to his Charge, and so eagerly urged, that in them he was almost concluded an Enemy to the King and Country; which certainly in the next Age will be conceived marvellous strange Objections:

jections: The One being a strong Argument of his Worth, the Other a piece of its Reward: The First was the plurality of Offices, though they were immediately conferred on him by the King, or else such as he was promoted to by his Majesty's own Allowance, to acquire to the which, there was no Condition, but his Majesty was a Witness, if not a Surety for the Performance; and yet for the Execution of them, never Man studied more to apt himself, nor descended to meaner Arts to give general Content. And here possibly it concerned his Mirth, to see his Ambition prosecuted of some, who desired to ease him of this Guilt by undertaking his Trust.

The Other was the preferment of his Kindred, upon whom his Majesty (delighting to give all gracious Expressions of his Affection to the Duke) would (to enliven any Branch that grew from the same Stock) confer both Honour and Living. And this surely had so little signification of Offence in the Duke's Conscience, that

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he thought he should have sinn'd against the Law of Nature, and a generous Disposition, that it would have been an Eternal Brand to his Name and Memory, if being so seized of this great King's Favour, he had no Regard but to his own Advancement.

And 'tis not improbable, that his Noble Care of his Family confirm'd him in the Estimation of his Master, who knew, that all Fountains ought to bestow themselves upon their Neighbour-Brooks; and could have hoped for little Effects from his Service, whose Care was only directed for himself.

Now, whether the importunate Clamour upon these two Faults (whereof he found no Regret, but Comfort in himself) made him so to esteem of the popular Discretion, and Honesty; or whether he esteemed it the same Ignominy to have his Allegiance exalted with Blasphemy, as (for attending the Prince out of *Spain*) he was called our Redeemer; or to have his Misfortunes mistaken into Disloyalty, when his Enterprises succeeded

ceeded not according to the impossible Expectation of the People: Certain it is, that all his later time he wholly neglected all Compliance with them. 'Tis not unlikely he might wonder, that in all the scrupulous Enquiry for Reformation, there was never the least Blemish of Dislike towards any great Man, but such as were in the immediate Regard and Estimation of the King; as if all Misdemeanors had been committed within the Verge of his Majesty's own Chamber.

I shall not confer any of these Particulars with the Earl. When the Noise of the People had disquieted him into Action from Court (which was his Orb) though he could not put off the Place, or rather the Title of Command, he committed himself a most willing Pupil to the Directions of such as were generally thought fit to manage Affairs of that Nature: And here it cannot be deny'd, but as he was a vigilant and observant Student in the contemplative Part, so he im-

proved the Courage of the whole Army by his Example.

And surely, there is no Cause to doubt, he would in short time have made so glorious a Progress in his Profession (however he seemed shaped for easier Skirmishes) as the World should have seen that Promptness and Alacrity in his Nature, that could happily have travelled in any Path he could direct it, had he not been cut off by that execrable Treason, as makes all good Men tremble, and Posterity shall start at it; and had he not been marvellously secured in the tranquility of his own Soul, from any of that Guilt the Rabble had conferred on him, it had been no hard matter to have fortified himself against the Knife of a Villain, though it were sharpen'd in the lewdest Forge of Revenge the great Patron of Murder hath countenanced since the spilling of the first Blood. But he that was unsafe only in the greatness of his own Spirit, could not be perswaded to wear any Privy-Coat, but (which he never put off) of a good Conscience. And the
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same Providence that conveyed him into Grace, with so different marks from other Men, would not suffer him to fall, but by such a Fate as may determine all the Monarchies of the World; and which had been seldom Acted, but upon the most Eminent and Honourable Persons of their Times.

And here again, he may be said to meet with the Earl, and they both Died by the People, though by very different Affections, which continued so Preposterous, as Justice upon the One (for Justice is the Execution of the Law) was interpreted a Conspiracy; And Treason upon the Other, conceived Religion; and yet one had the Royal Sacrifice of his Sovereign Sorrow, which the other wanted.

In Contriving and Contracting his Friendships, he was Provident and Circumspect enough (as may appear by those Marriages in which he linked his House;) and in the Observation of them he was so severe and real, as he wanted some of that, which is usually the Poison of Noble Minds,

Minds, Suspicion; looking no further into the Affections of those he chose, than the Testimony of their own Hearts, though this Confidence sometimes was like to prove dangerous to him. And here the Earl had the Day too: For his Friends were Screens between him and Envy, and his own Infirmities taken from him, and imposed on them; when the Duke was so far from that ease, or being discharged of the Burthen that belonged to them, that he was traduced with all the mistakes of all his Friends, Kindred, and Dependants; as if he were the Mischievous Agent, they only improvident and surprized Instruments.

'Tis true, they were neither of them much skilled in the Paradox of Charity, *Loving their Enemies*: And yet the Dukes easiness to Reconcilement, and too soon forgetting the Circumstances of Grudges, betrayed him often to the Injuries of such as had not the same Spirits.

Concerning the Parts and Endowments of his Mind, if the consideration

tion of Learning extend it self not further than drudgery in Books, the Dukes Employments forbid to suspect him for any great Scholar: But if a nimble and fluent Expresssion, and delivery of his Mind (and his discourse was of all Subjects) in a natural and proper Dialect be considered, he was well Letter'd: But if he had that Eloquence of Nature, or Art, I am sure he wanted that other accident, (which the best Judge attributed to the Earl as an Eloquence that passed the other two) the Pity and Benevolence of his Hearers; insomuch that his Words and Speeches were never entertained with that Candour or common Charity of Interpretation, as civilly belongs to all Delinquents: Witness that Speech in the fulness of his Joy, he let fall to His Majesty in the behalf of his People, which was immediately perverted and Carpt at, as an Aggravation of his other Imaginary and Fantastick Offences.

He was besides not only of an Eminent Affection to Learning, in conferring Dignities and Rewards upon

upon the most Learned Men; either of which is seldom without Judgment; and he was the Governor in a Province of Learning, which was an Argument he confuted the People by, when he suffered himself to be chosen Chancellour of the University of *Cambridge*, even at the time when they had concluded his Destruction, as a Man odious to all Subjects.

In his Liberalities and Rewards of those he fancied, he was so chearfully Magnificent, and so much at the Mercy of his Dependants, that if they proved Improvident or Immodest in their Sutes, the Inconveniency and Mischief was surely his; inso-much as he seemed wholly possess'd from himself, and to be only great for their use; and he had then so happy a bravery in deriving of his Favours, and Conferred them with so many noble Circumstances, as the manner was as obliging as the matter, and Mens understandings oft-times as much puzzled as their gratitude.

If the Earl sided him here, his bounty fell upon more unthrifty Men; for

for there are many Families owe their large Possessions only to the openness of the Duke's Hand, though much be lost too in the Ingratitudes of the Receivers.

But that which shined with most Lustre in him, and which indeed flowed in his Nature much above its proportion in other Men, was an admirable Affability and Gentleness to all Men. And this was the Pomp and Glory of all his Titles; insomuch, as though his Memory were a place so taken up with high Thoughts, and unlikely to have any room for matters of so small Importance; he was ever known to entertain his younger Acquaintance with that Familiarity, as if they had been Stairs by which he ascended to his Greatness.

He had besides, such a Tenderness and Compassion in his Nature, that such as think the Laws dead if they are not severely executed, censured him for being too merciful; but his Charity was grounded upon a wiser Maxim of State: *Non minus turpe Principi multa Supplicia; quàm Medi-*

co multa Funera. And he believed, doubtless, the Hanging was the worst Use Man could be put to.

And now, methinks, to believe a Man drest in all these real Ornaments of Honour, could be an Enemy to the Publick, or to his Country; is as ingenious, as to believe a Man of a solemn Friendliness to ten thousand Men, and of a Resolved Hatred to Mankind.

Of all Imputations, that was the most unskilful, which accused him of a Purpose and Design to enrich himself. Certainly that was never in his Views; and possibly the Auditors of his Revenues do not find his Estate so much increased from the time of his first Master, though he enjoyed a Glorious Harvest of almost four Years, which, if it had been brought in to his own use, could not but have made an envious Addition. Since then, till their Evenings, these two great Persons can hardly meet: Let not the Violence of their Deaths reconcile them, since the same Consideration might as well unite the great King of
France

France, and the *Marſhal Byron*, and many others of more different Conditions.

He that ſhall continue this Argument farther, may haply begin his Parallel after their Deaths, and not unfitly: He may ſay, that they were both as *Mighty* in Obligations as ever any Subjects, and both their Memories and Families as unrecompenced by ſuch as they had raiſed. He may tell you of the Clients that burnt the Pictures of the One, and defaced the Arms of the Other, leaſt they might be too long ſuſpected for their Dependents, and find Diſadvantage by being honeſt to their Memories. He may tell you of ſome that grew Strangers to their Houſes, leaſt they might find the Tract of their own Footſteps, that might upbraid them with their former Attendance. He may ſay, that both their Memories ſhall have a Reverend Savour with all Poſterity, and all Nations. He may may tell you many more Particulars, which I dare not do.

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many others of more different Con-
ditions.

He that shall continue this Argu-
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Figures of the One, and defaced the
Arms of the Other, lest they might
be too long suffered for their Deben-
eities, and find Disadvantage by de-
ing thence to their Memories. He
may tell you of some that grew Stran-
gers to their Houses, lest they might
find the least of ~~any~~ a Booty, or
that might upbraid them with their
former Attendance. He may say, that
both their Memories shall have a Re-
verend Service with all Posterity, and
all Nations. He may say, tell you
many more Particulars, which I have
not done.

